months later, depending upon the type and the conditions of rainfall. Fresh maize was roasted before a fire or made into porridge or into cakes called *shipa*. A fermented beverage was also prepared from newly harvested maize. Ears of maize were also dried and stored in the house to be later crushed in a mortar and used for making porridge.

Manioc (chupú).—While in the Chaco, the Terena cultivated both the sweet manioc, *eshóti-chupú*, and the bitter manioc, *suatí-chupú*. Manioc was planted at the same time as maize and was weeded to give the young plants a good start. Sweet manioc matured in about 8 months and bitter manioc in about 12 months. Bitter manioc was thus a valuable food reserve, as it became available during the lean months of September and October.

Sweet manioc was eaten boiled and baked or cut up and boiled with meat. Bitter manioc, however, had to be processed in order to rid the tubers of their poisonous acids. The tubers were first cleaned, then shredded with a wooden grater. The pulp was then rolled in a cotton cloth which was wrung with the aid of two sticks, one at each end of the cloth press. The pulp was then rolled into small cakes, *kihi*, or large cakes, *kapapé*, and baked until the bitter taste disappeared.

Sweetpotatoes (kohé).—The sweetpotato was a favorite food of the Terena and was planted in large quantities. The Terena recognized three varieties: A white variety known as *kepuiti-kohé*, a yellow variety, *kiati-kohé*, and a purple variety, *kenaiti-kohé*. Although sweetpotatoes could be planted throughout the year, the biggest plantings were made at the beginning of the rainy season. Sweetpotatoes planted in October were ready for use in March.

Sweetpotatoes were eaten boiled, or baked on hot coals or in earth ovens. A hole in the ground was filled with wood and after the wood had burnt down to coals, the potatoes were placed in it, covered with soil and left for a day or two.

Maize, sweetpotatoes, and manioc were the staple subsistence crops of the Terena. In addition to being substantial foods, these crops became available for use over a period stretching from January to October. Maize came in from January to March, sweetpotatoes from March to July, manioc from August to October.

a specially adorned reed mat called *pouhi kevó koyenóti* (footrest for marriage). After getting up from the hammock the boy and girl were considered a married couple. Feasting and dancing then took place in accompaniment to the singing and the playing of drums and flutes. This is a description of the marriage ceremony as practiced by the *unati*, or moiety chiefs, and their relatives. 585

In the case of a marriage involving the son of a war chief the procedure was a bit different. The war chief and his wife, preceded by three warriors in full regalia consisting of rhea feather headdresses and skirts and armed with bows and arrows, went to the house of the girl's father. Arriving at the home of the future bride the warriors knelt before the girl's father and made a request for his daughter in the name of the boy's father. If the girl's father agreed the visitors were requested to sit down, the two fathers sitting on the same reed mat. In this position they discussed the wedding date and determined the time when they would go out to gather honey for making the beverage, *mopó*. 584 565 [292] [293]

When the *mopó* was ready the ceremony took place. The groom and his parents were led by three warriors to the house of the bride's parents. Upon entering the house the three warriors said, "We have brought your son." The bride's father then thanked the warriors and led the groom to a hammock on which the bride was sitting. After sitting together the pair were considered married. The Terena say that in an older form of marriage the bride and groom sat on the reed mat, *hituri*, and held hands. The three warriors were given *mopó* to drink until they were not able to get up. Guests took part in dances and singing and partook of the food and *mopó* that had been prepared in large quantities beforehand. 585 565

Today the young man makes his request directly to the girl's father, and if the father agrees the young couple are married as far as Terena custom is concerned. According to informants, the majority of marriages are made in this manner. If a young man and woman wish to marry according to Brazilian law, they must register and then be married in either a Catholic or Protestant church. As the registration fee is 200 cruzeiros the young people may have to be engaged for some time until the groom accumulates the money. 177 585 [178]

He calls them by name, shaking his *itáake* and holding his *kí'pahá*. If people are present he makes them close their eyes while he is calling the spirits. *"Giahí kaponé neiahá vomorí"* (Come to me, look at me), he says. This request, twice repeated, is enough to make the spirits come to him. He then makes his wishes known to the spirits. When he is in contact with the spirits he claims he is in a trance. During trances Eperú says he sometimes visits the Chaco, the place where *Voropí* lives. He says that shamans who get in contact with *Voropí* are able to control rain. On coming out of the trance he tells people where he has been and with whom he has spoken.

When he is curing, the spirits tells him what to do, how to suck the objects out of the patient's body, or what roots and herbs to use. If a snake has bitten a person, he sucks the wound. He says that when a shaman learns how to cure certain diseases, he does not always have to consult the spirits.

Another shaman, Sabino, is said to be able to perform miracles just like the old Terena shamans. People claim that they have seen Sabino make "bichos" come out of his mouth. One of the female shamans is said to be visited by a jaguar spirit. No one has seen the jaguar spirit but they have heard it speaking with the shaman at night.

In addition to the six shamans just mentioned, there are two Indians, Feliciano and Japão, who are said to cure people by blessing them in the Christian fashion. They learned to ask help from the saints when they worked on Brazilian fazendas. These two men, although considered shamans, use Christian saints instead of the ghosts of shamans.

It appears, therefore, that the Terena have adopted Christian beliefs and fitted them into their own pattern of religion. On the other hand, the Brazilians use Terena shamans. Colonel Horta Barbosa, who is in charge of the Indian reservations in this part of Brazil, stated that there are still many active Terena shamans and that one of the female shamans has many Brazilian clients. These "customers" would come long distances to consult her about sickness, lost objects, and matters concerning their personal life. The colonel said that he has no objection to shamanism, but he did object to the Brazilians bringing cane rum to the reservations.

796 182 619 571 462 [114] 152 cont. / [Traditional Culture]

largest possible part of the local group and a harmonious and efficient division of labor. Thanks to the fortunate coincidence whereby Castelnau passed through a Terêna community, near Miranda, in May 1845, exactly during preparations for those festivities, we can evaluate the high significance to the group of their "national holiday." The chronicler writes that "for a month the men had searched the forest for honey with which all the families were now busy preparing an alcoholic beverage, the soul of every festival." (88) Once the raw material had

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88. 1949, II:303.

been gathered by the men, the job of preparing the drink fell to the women. Besides, by "all the houses women could be seen working at tasks of the most varied sort, but always for the same end." (89) And the function of these annual gatherings

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89. The chronicler goes on: "Some sew glass beads on pieces of striped cotton cloth, others cut and lay out the red feathers with which they make ornaments for the head; yet others sketch on their husbands' bodies delicate paintings, when they do not do this themselves." (1949, II:304.)

[301] [302]

became very clear to us, in so far as they animate intratribal relations and preserve social solidarity, when we ascertained among the present-day Terêna that this is perhaps the only moment when the local groups manage to gather together all (or almost all) their members. Like the Oheokoti--which today coincides with Holy Week--, only the June festivals can gather the local group together, owing to the great spatial mobility

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797 We were able to record many cases of individuals (or even
648 entire families) who adopted the other religion because of
578 matters of dissension in the community, because their ad-
795 versaries were leaders or enjoyed high "status" in the group to which they belonged and which they left in retaliation. Even more usual was the channeling to the "Protestant" group of those dissatisfied with the post administration. But it must be emphasized that these individuals did not on this account necessarily remain in the new politico-religious group adopted, since at the first opportunity they changed categories once more, passing with relative ease from one group to another, in accordance with the political situation of the moment.

797 There are other cases, less frequent however, in which the
795 motive for the change of "religious ideology" was much more
● 273 prosaic, such as the simple wish to drink rum: the express prohibition to Protestants against alcoholic beverages gave rise to situations in which a Protestant convert (not yet fully integrated into his new faith) ceased to be one when the desire to drink came upon him; then we would get the curious fact of individuals who remained for one year in one religious group (in this case the Protestant group) and spent a few months in the other group, as long as their desire to drink lasted!

621 In short, in the four aldeas mentioned, in which Protestant
798 missionaries managed to introduce the "new faith," the result
665 was the division of the community into two politically distinct
[648] groups. And in two of them, at least, this division was aggravated by the activity of the post superintendents, who took the side of one of the groups (usually the "Catholics"), making
[797] even more difficult their mutual reconciliation. This party character, /107/ preponderant in the recruitment of individuals into either of the groups, shows the shallow religious content of both. (165)

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771 165. Altenfelder da Silva, in his work on Bananal, refers

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thinks of himself and of the "Catholics." Now the "Catholic," while he does not deny that a large number of his coreligionists drink a lot, believes that they work much harder than the "Be-livers," since the latter "are always at meetings of worship and just ask for alms and do not take life seriously." It seems that the basic difference between them is that most of the "Believers" know how to read and write--because they are encouraged to do so in order to be able to study the Bible, whereas the "Catholics" have no such incentive. This difference is apparent in the religious intervention itself: the Protestant missionaries are much more concerned with literacy than the Redemptorist padres.

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128 Much could be said on the religious behavior of the Terêna and on the syncretism revealed by their present body of beliefs. Nevertheless, it is not advisable for us to enlarge upon this, since the data we possess on the aldeas in this respect are very unequal, not permitting a comparative analysis. The disparity between the material obtained in Cachoeirinha--to mention the community selected for a study in depth and that will be the subject of a special work--in comparison with the data recorded in the other aldeas, would make any such endeavor a futile one.

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323 pattern is painted with palosanto resin on the still red-hot vessel. Later, when the crockery has cooled, the design is completed
415 with red and white paint. In all the huts one finds clay utensils in every possible shape and size and suitable for every possible purpose. I saw bowls of over a meter in diameter, which are used for the preparation of mandioca flour. I would gladly have taken a few of them with me, but it was impossible for me to
323 transport them. Both sexes, moreover, make pottery, but the
462 impressing of the patterns, as well as painting them, falls to the women.

285 The men take care of plaiting baskets and hats. The baskets
294 are usually made of split bamboo, whereas the material for hats
[462] is obtained from the dried leaves of a fan palm--called
[829] carnauba. The hats find a good market in Miranda and, despite
[437] the cheap price, leave nothing to be desired with regard to durability.

585 A wedding is celebrated in two ways. The older ceremony
[178] is gradually dying out, since the culture is progressing mightily
[411] and the rifle will soon have driven out the bow and arrow. The ceremony is the following: toward noon six girls, all adorned with feathers and painting, go to the bridegroom's hut. The latter hands over bow and arrows to them, whereupon the girls, singing and dancing, bring these weapons to the bride and then go home. After sundown six young men, adorned in the same manner, fetch the bridegroom and, dancing and singing, lead him to the bride's hut. As soon as he enters the hut, he extends his right hand to the bride and the marriage is concluded.--
585 More common, however, is a second type of marriage ceremony,
273 for at it there is caña to drink. All the members of the family gather in the hut of the bride, and likewise in the bridegroom's house. Thereupon the bridegroom with his whole family goes to the hut of the bride. In front a large basket-bottle of caña is borne; behind it follow the musicians who play the yntaca and ujoe, and finally the bridegroom with the rest of the family. The bride sits on a hammock and also has a large bottle of caña

/407 cont./

585 standing near her. The bridegroom now sits down beside the
● 273 bride, whereupon the latter exchanges her bottle of caña with the bottle of the bridegroom. /408/ The bridegroom's family then goes home and drinks up the bride's liquor. The bridegroom remains in the bride's hut and empties the other bottle with her family. The marriage ties are knotted by this exchange of the
591 two bottles. The husband always remains in the family hut of his
595 wife. If there are more marriageable girls there, he takes a second wife, but no ceremony takes place in connection with this.

796 Upa a ne voty. Festival of the seven stars. This great festival of the Terenos is celebrated in the month of April. A week before the festival two old men go from hut to hut: the one arranges for musicians; the other invites the men for the scheduled
[273] night. The guests must provide everything necessary, especially caña, before the festival, for the more there is to drink, the more splendid the festival. On the scheduled night, between one and two o'clock, all the men gather in the festival plaza. One of the oldest men stands in the middle of the plaza, holding a lance in his hand; the others squat on the ground, forming a circle around the old man. Then the old man speaks, his face turned toward the east: I am the grandfather of all the chiefs who live in the east! He then enumerates all the names of the latter known to him. Then he turns to the north, then to the west, then to the south, and repeats the same thing. In this way he pretends to be the grandfather of all the important men of the
[82] world. He then looks toward the sky and asks the seven stars for
[782] rain and implores them to protect his people from war, sickness, snakebites, etc. This prayer lasts for some hours. As soon as the prayer is ended, the old man lets out a howl, whereupon the whole company jumps up, howls, rattles, shoots, and makes a terrible noise with all sorts of instruments. The old man then goes home, while the company goes around the plaza with shouting and up-
796 roar until dawn. Four to six small leaf-houses are built around
533 the plaza for the musicians. Toward six o'clock in the evening the above-mentioned old man gives a sign with the yntaca,